

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 217906
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY S/MS: M D SHULMAN:GM
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
S/S:PTARNOFF

-----064728 121959Z /73

P 121923Z SEP 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 217906

NODIS
CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH DOBRYNIN

1. I MET WITH DOBRYNIN SEPTEMBER 10, WITH WARNKE AND SHULMAN PRESENT, AND COVERED THE FOLLOWING POINTS.

2. SALT. FOLLOWING AN INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT STRESSING THE US CONCERN ABOUT ACHIEVING REDUCTIONS IN STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES, MIRV AGGREGATES, AND SOVIET MLBMS, I GAVE DOBRYNIN A PAPER SUMMARIZING SOME PRINCIPLES WHICH COULD MEET BOTH SOVIET AND US CONCERNS, AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT DOBRYNIN COULD ELICIT A REACTION FROM MOSCOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, SO THAT THESE RESPONSES COULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN THE DISCUSSIONS WITH GROMYKO. DOBRYNIN AGREED TO TRY TO DO SO, ALTHOUGH HE CAUTIONED THAT THE POLITBURO WOULD NOT ORDINARILY MEET BEFORE THURSDAY OR FRIDAY, AND THINGS MIGHT NOT MOVE THAT QUICKLY. THERE FOLLOWED A
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 217906

LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IN DISPUTE, IN THE COURSE OF WHICH WE SOUGHT TO EXPLAIN THE RATIONALE FOR THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE US IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT GROMYKO WOULD BE PREPARED TO BE FORTHCOMING IN HIS RESPONSES.

3. EXTENSION OF IA. WE EXPLAINED THAT OUR LAW WOULD

REQUIRE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IF THE EXTENSION WERE EXPRESSED IN A JOINT STATEMENT, AND GAVE HIM THE LANGUAGE OF A PROPOSED UNILATERAL US STATEMENT, WHICH WE HOPED WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY A SOVIET STATEMENT. DOBRYNIN REFLECTED GROMYKO'S DESIRE THAT A JOINT STATEMENT ON THE IA COULD STRENGTHEN THE IMPRESSION OF POSITIVE RESULTS OF HIS VISIT, BUT WE SETTLED ON A JOINT EXPRESSION OF DETERMINATION TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND SEPARATE STATEMENTS REGARDING THE EXTENSION OF THE IA. WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE PREFERRED NO REFERENCE TO THE TIME COVERED BY THE EXTENSION, AND THAT THE SENTENCE IN THE SOVIET DRAFT STATEMENT BANNING TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF WEAPONS UNDER NEGOTIATION WAS NOT APPROPRIATE FOR INCLUSION IN THESE STATEMENTS.

4. REAFFIRMATION OF THE ABM TREATY. WE AGREED THAT A JOINT STATEMENT COULD BE ISSUED ON THE OCCASION OF GROMYKO'S VISIT REAFFIRMING THE ABM TREATY, SUBJECT ONLY TO MINOR PERFECTING MODIFICATIONS FOLLOWING A REVIEW BY THE SCC AFTER ITS SCHEDULED MEETING IN NOVEMBER. DOBRYNIN WILL SUBMIT THIS LANGUAGE FOR MOSCOW APPROVAL.

5. ARRANGEMENTS FOR GROMYKO'S VISIT. ALTHOUGH FURTHER DETAILS ARE TO BE WORKED OUT WITH DOBRYNIN ON MONDAY, WE AGREED THAT SALT WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT MORNING AND AFTERNOON SESSIONS HERE ON THE 22ND, WITH A WORKING LUNCH IN SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 217906

BETWEEN. ON THE 23RD, WE PLAN ANOTHER SALT SESSION, A MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND A DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND OTHER MATTERS. EXACT TIMES FOR THESE TALKS WILL BE WORKED OUT LATER.

6. BREZHNEV REMARKS. I EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THE TENOR OF BREZHNEV'S REMARKS TO THE CHIEF JUSTICE CONCERNING THE US ATTITUDES TOWARD SALT AND OTHER MATTERS, AND SAID I HOPED THIS DID NOT REPRESENT HIS ACTUAL PERCEPTION OF OUR POSITION. DOBRYNIN SOUGHT TO EXPLAIN THE INTENSITY OF BREZHNEV'S FEELINGS ABOUT THE DEPARTURE FROM THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT AND THE DISAPPOINTMENT OF HIS HOPES FOR THE ADMINISTRATION. HE EMPHASIZED THAT BREZHNEV'S REMARKS REFLECTED HIS GENUINE EMOTIONAL OUTLOOK, AND SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS A TACTICAL MOVE. IN A PERSONAL STATEMENT, DOBRYNIN DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THE EFFECT IN MOSCOW OF LEAKS AND STATEMENTS IN THE US--USUALLY NOT DENIED--WHICH EMPHASIZED OUR CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR FIGHTING THE RUSSIANS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE, BUILT ON US ESTIMATES (WHICH HE SAID WERE ERRONEOUS) OF PUTATIVE SOVIET REACTIONS TO SHORTAGES OF OIL, ETC., ALL OF WHICH APPEARED TO

MAINTAIN AN IMPRESSION OF THE SOVIET UNION AS "THE NUMBER-ONE ENEMY." TASS REPORTED THIS DAILY FARE TO MOSCOW, HE SAID, AND HE COULD REFUTE IT ONLY WHEN THERE WERE OFFICIAL DENIALS OF SUCH STORIES, WHICH WAS NOT OFTEN.

7. MIDDLE EAST. DOBRYNIN HANDED ME A DRAFT STATEMENT WHICH HE HOPED WE COULD ISSUE JOINTLY AS GENEVA CO-CHAIRMEN FOLLOWING MY DISCUSSIONS WITH GROMYKO HERE. HE STRESSED THAT IT CONTAINED SOME SOFTENED LANGUAGE ON TWO POINTS: THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM OCCUPIED AREAS, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE, AND IMPLIED THAT THESE REFLECTED THE DISCUSSIONS WITH ARAFAT IN MOSCOW, ABOUT WHICH GROMYKO PLANS TO REPORT IN FURTHER DETAIL.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 217906

8. CHINA. I TOLD DOBRYNIN THAT, DESPITE ERRONEOUS PRESS REPORTS TO THE CONTRARY, THE UNITED STATES DID NOT DISCUSS MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE PRC DURING MY VISIT.

9. FRANCE/CCD. WARNKE REPLIED TO THE SOVIET REQUEST FOR OUR OPINION ON THE FRENCH PARTICIPATION IN THE CCD, SAYING THAT WHILE WE ARE RECEPTIVE WE SHOULD NOT PRESS THE FRENCH AND LEAVE THE ISSUE OF CO-CHAIRMEN IN ABEYANCE FOR THE TIME BEING.

10. AEROFLOT. IN RESPONSE TO DOBRYNIN'S EARLIER PROTEST, I REPORTED TO HIM THE MEASURES WE HAVE TAKEN TO SEEK TO APPREHEND THE PERSONS RESPONSIBLE, AND TO GUARD AGAINST FURTHER SUCH OCCURRENCES. WE HAVE A LARGE NUMBER OF FBI AGENTS AND POLICE ON THIS MATTER, AND I AM SATISFIED WE ARE PURSUING THE MATTER DILIGENTLY. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CAT-C, MEETINGS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), CHEROKEE 09/12/77
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 12-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE217906
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: M D SHULMAN:GM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840076-0439
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770973/aaaacjup.tel
Line Count: 154
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7d620548-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1305483
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEETING WITH DOBRYNIN
TAGS: PDIP, PARM, PBOR, UR, US, XF, CH, FR, (DOBRYNIN, ANATOLIY F)
To: MOSCOW
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7d620548-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009